T It is very interesting to hear the bahasa
197 tanah [the local language], which is used most often in the Hitu kampong. Even the children speak it. It is practically the same as on Ceram, and it's certainly far from Malay. It is the language of the family names and place names here and that is why they are hard for me to remember. It sounds completely alien.

582 The Radja said that adat is kept much more in
178 Mohammedan than in Christian kampongs and Gaspersz
182 agreed. Still, some things are not that way. For example, the Christians keep the old taboo (?) on family endogamy (Can this be? If so it is very interesting. [RK says yes later on]) more than the Mohammedans, who follow agama rules only. But even the Christians have to change somewhat in this regard. For example, there are so many of the Soumokil clan in Saparua that they have to inmarry.

505 From here one can see Ceram clearly. It is mountainous and only about twelve miles, or three hours and fl. 2.00, from here by dugout. Motor boats leave here for there and Saparua and the other islands.

161 This is the biggest negri in population in
361 Ambon Island. The population is about four thousand. Nearly all the houses are along about three parallel streets along the shore. But the Radja says that the inland areas have Binongko (from Buton) living with their gardens.

[764] We talked about things like funeral customs
124 and the Radja told me that many of the old practices remain despite Mohammedanism. He asked me a keen question when he asked me whether I favored keeping the old adat or changing. I dodged. He reads papers and is interested in
668 politics. For example he told me how progressives in East Indonesian circles such as the East Indonesian parliament are speaking against

A T
583 up. There is a lot of elopement here. It is called lari bini. Sometimes this occurs in order
A to avoid the cost of a feast, but often it is to
[578] avoid the bride's parents' opposition. The latter often get very angry and may even lead the parties concerned into knife fights.

A I understand that there are many cases here
691 over disputed land boundaries, especially be-
423 tween negri, but also over smaller area boundaries. Rehatta says that there are piles of them in the office. He also said that an Ambonese will seldom fight to kill, but that over land disputes concerned with boundaries he may do so. (Thus the land business begins to emerge.)

C In my notes on Ceram I see that the chiefs
A there get pieces of cloth at weddings. This is
585 precisely what happens on Ambon. Where do they
197 get this notion about no more old culture in Ambon? The fact is that it is Ceram culture, and probably Patasiwa. Certainly the language is the same. And when I look from Tulehu across
A the bay to Ceram nearby I see that Ambon Island
[131] and the others are mere off-shore islands of Ceram.

A Soa membership is entirely patrilineal, although
611 it is said that they have ambil anak too, and if
614 there are no girls they may adopt a boy into the
597 soa, like the Batak.

A Time after time the Radja pointed out how adat
182 wins out over agama here. This is especially
764 true in regard to the funerals. When I get these
178 men loosened up, it is remarkable how they talk about the old ways living on. They know every-
[114] thing in my notes. Even Riedel[1] seems to be not bad here!

A I have heard several times how Ambonese put a
273 deer embryo into the koolwater (one Dutchman says
825 that kool means alcohol) to make it strong. It

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst]

T
197 also an example showing that before 1930 there
184 were no schools in Mohammedan kampongs. Anyway,
621 there are five divisions or dialects of this bahasa tanah. They are mutually incomprehensible, and ther, are additional local differences. Malay is used as the lingua franca when people speaking two forms of this local language meet. In speaking with Christians the Mohammedans must use Malay. (I found out later that some Christian kampongs do use a form of the bahasa tanah). The five divisions are:

I. Tulehu (Mohammedan)
Tengah
Tial
Liang
Wakal
Hila
Kaitetu
Mamala
Hitu

II. Asilulu (Mohammedan)
Ureng
Wakasihu
Larike

These four are opposite Huamual peninsula of Ceram and my assistant suspects that the people from these areas can understand the speech of the Huamual region of Ceram.

On the south coast of Hitu:

III. Laha (Mohammedan)
IV. Liliboi (Christian)
V. Alang (Christian)

191 This led to the question of the use of languages
871 in the school. Malay is used from the start al-
●182 though children hear only local language in their homes because the parents use it all of the time. The gurus do not know the local language, or at

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191 least this holds for most of them. Thus the
871 children in the first grade sit listening to a
●182 language which they cannot understand. Neverthe-
less, they learn. Their parents and siblings who
[868] know Malay help them when they come from school.
Thus they get on to know it the hard way. My
assistant says that he himself went through this
period but that his parents helped him. All
children go to afternoon religious schools run
by Mohammedan gurus. Here they learn Arabic and
read the Koran. This took place even before
1930. But the Mohammedans have lagged behind
because in their areas there have been no schools
until recently. Even now, says the assistant, in
the big kampong of Tulehu there is only one
school and it is very poor. Whereas the Chris-
tian towns have many schools and big ones. The
Radja is said to be working on this problem.

621 As far as the kampong divisions are concerned
167 I find that there are really four kampongs here:
Baru, Tengah, Lama, and the new "suburb" (largely
populated by Ceram folk from East Ceram and Gorong)
Hurumala. Once returned people from Tulehu do not
leave the kampong again.

4½ The private property, for example, a dugout
62, canoe, belonging to a man who has left the com-
munity may be sold. If he is generous he may
give it to a relative. Other property such as
land, a house, etc., is not private, so it is
merely kept by the family or dati. In some cases
the Radja may act as guardian of the property for
the person who has left. On his return he will
be assimilated again.

There is no resistance in the kampong to those
167 who want to go away. But today, the government
656 will not give permits for anyone to go even to
505 Makassar, in order to get a job as a sailor. And
if they leave without the proper papers, and they

T
000 messenger theme).

423 614 It is evident that the dati business has to do with land. Thus the soa is a genealogical unit, once localized, with an ancestor-cult bond, but now it is not localized. The dati is a landowning unit, which, here in Tulehu, happens to coincide in nearly every case with the soa. The fam is mostly the same as the soa and dati, but the Wakang soa has two dati and fam; while there are fam from the outside which are not soa or dati affiliated.

423 614 623 174 616 Each dati has one kepala and therefore there should be twelve kepala dati. There are only four kepala soa, and thus eight soa have no kepala. The four kepala soa are also the kepala of their respective dati. They are also members of the saniri. Two of the elected kepala dati are also members of the saniri. The four kepala soa are of the following soa: Wakang, Lating, Moni, and Lain. They are also, respectively, the kepala dati of Ohorella, Lestuluhu, Kottahatuhaha, and Tuasalamoni. This looks like a kind of moiety here too, as there are two negri lama, Eruwakang and Amantawari. The notable fact is that only the soa Wakang comes from the former, while all the other soa are from the latter. This looks as though Wakang was simply a conquering group that came in and set up its own organization over the others, who had come down before from Amantawari.

624 614 174 565 182 Another interesting part has to do with the offices and their relation to the soa. The radja, of course, must be Ohorella. The tuan tanah, however, must be from Umarella and this is recognized to be the soa which settled the negri originally. This soa came first from Amantawari. Its name, Umarella, means big land. My guess is that the tuan tanah was originally the chief of

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624 the negri, until the Eruwakang people came down.
614 Then the latter took over the radja's post,
174 dropped him to second place, although he still
565 remains a master of adat and was technically
182 the chief in land matters. The latter, however,
is an empty assumption. As far as I can see,
everywhere in Ambon the tuan tanah comes from
the soa which settled the negri first. I would
like to talk with the tuan tanah of Tulehu and
may get the opportunity to do so yet.

[701] The kapitan, now a defunct position, came from the Lain soa. Thus we see administration, adat-religion, and war as three different functions divided between three different soa. He evidently mixes dati and soa indiscriminately because he said that the radja and the tuan tanah are from Ohorella and Umarella, which are dati names, but then he said that the kapitan was from Lain, which is a soa term for the dati Tuasalamoni.

[793] The imeum should be from Ohorella, but since 1937 there has been no member of this fam or dati which has been well enough up on Islam to take over this responsibility. Since that time there has been a deputy imeum. That will be so until some member of the Ohorella comes along who is learned enough to become a real imeum.

I then reverted to the remark of the Radja to the effect that the tuan tanah is bangsawan tinggi, as is the Radja. He agreed, with just a little hesitancy. He evidently thinks of the tuan tanah as just a bit lower, anyway. In any case his group is simply not bangsawan radja.

[582] I asked if marriage could occur between radja and tuan tanah families. He said that this could take place but would probably result in some trouble. He said that bangsawan radja individuals always in-marry. Then I asked if perhaps there

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Then I asked if perhaps there
624 were the idea that there are two sections of
614 rules here. Thus there would be the purely ad-
565 ministrative or worldly side running from the
182 radja down through the kepala soa to the soa,
793 and there would be the land-and-adat or more or
174 less mixed with the old religion side, running from the tuan tanah down through the kepala dati and the kewang to the dati and the dusun of the dati. I am a little doubtful about the kewang, who seems to be a kind of radja's side man who has usurped the land-administration rights of the tuan tanah. Anyway, he thought that this was not so bad an idea. He insisted, however, that the tuan tanah is more on the religious side than on the land side. If one wanted to pursue this further it might be possible to divide more finely and state the situation something like this:

Administration: radja--kepala soa--soa.

Land administration: radja--kepala dati--kewang--dati.

Religion (old): tuan tanah--mauwen (defunct), indirectly tying in with the soa.

War (defunct): kapitan--malessi, indirectly tying in with the soa.

Religion (modern: imeum--hatib--modin.

T & A

526 The Radja said that they used to have boat
624 races, for example on the Queen's birthday. At
769 that time the tuan tanah would pronounce the
782 charms in the baileo. After it was over he would go to the negri lama. I remember that in Amahusu when they have races they go first to the negri lama to ask the ancestors for luck.

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624 When there is a big feast, for example, in the
576 radja's house, the radja sits in the center in a
554 decorated place. To his right are the kepala soa,

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609 is considered a bit alien. They can be spotted
186 easily. However, there is a growing feeling of Indonesian nationality.

614 I went over the soa again, and he says that
778 his soa alone, Moni, is not from Amantawari (as
202 are all others except Wakang) or Eruwakang (as
574 is Wakang). They came originally from Haruku, and first settled at Tunghitu, near Paso. When they are called to come to the negri or other feasts, they have a long way to travel. They can hear the call, however, and do come. Thus his soa seems to be a bit off the line and looks to some negri lama far off where their ancestors are.

778 Whenever someone is about to take an impor-
782 tant step he goes to the negri lama to pray and
614 to tell his ancestors. Thus before they go to
769 Mecca they tell their ancestors about it at the
182 negri lama (this is a wonderful mixture). They also go there to ask for favors. He says that the Wakang is the only soa with a totem.

844 There are two midwives in town. They are
852 called dukun. They stay with the child until the seventh day when the child is taken to touch the ground. They have a feast when the first hair is cut and if the family is rich this would be a large one. The local name for this feast is maibiang.

756 There are also medicine men called paleo,
881 with the accent on the e. There are several in
304 the kampong. This is part time work. They give medicines and also charms and are thus real medicine men. They perform circumcision rites at about the age of twelve for boys only usually and in groups. If the boys come from rich fami-
[231] lies there may be a big feast with goat meat. The tukang sunat is always from soa Aser (the
304 same as the tuan tanah). In circumcision a

000 A conch shell, a drum, and a gong are all used to call the ancestors. Every negri has a baileo. Every negri also has the tjakalele and costumes to go with it. The seven negri form an uli.

The negri themselves were often formed of an uli of five soa or aman. These ulilima were always comprised of five soa. There are no definite marriage relations between the fam here. Some are pairs of wife-exchanging fam; others are triads. The unusual thing in such cases is that any one of the three may marry into any other of the three, regardless of sex. Thus it is clearly not a one-way rotating system, but merely a group of three intermarrying fam.

177 The more I hear of Ambon the more I am astonished at the retention of the complex adat
●182 here by a completely "Westernized" and "Christianized" or "Mohammedanized" people. This must be one of the most remarkable cases of such phenomena in the world.

778 Ambon: Rehatta says that the Haruku negri
789 (which ones?) still have very large holy jars. These jars are kept in a separate room in the house. And they are kept by themselves. They are believed to possess great magic power and people fear disturbing them. In the prewar period there were many of these holy jars in Ambon too. This is amazing. From his gestures, always expansive, they must have been (and are) six feet high and three feet in diameter, more or less woman-shaped.

245 In checking over the notes on Ambon, Rehatta says it is true that there is no shooting or shouting in the clove groves when the cloves are
1304 flowering. There is no tooth filing, although
178 Rehatta thinks that this was done before. Uti-
286 uti cloth is no longer made. It was made of mixed thread, that is, made from strands of pineapple, ramie, and cotton fibers. His grandmother

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624 ing a conch shell. The old man from Siloë said
769 that they still use the conch shell and that
124 the tuan tanah keeps old ones in his house.
These people are extremely scared to give anything that may appear to be pagan. The tuan
[789] tanah is also a feast leader, but they say there is absolutely no magic.

526 Amahusu no longer has a football team.

624 I finally got them to admit that the tuan
776 tanah will help one who has been harmed by
755 nitu, ancestral spirits or forest spirits, in the woods. A person so afflicted may come to the tuan tanah and the latter will give him some water. I had great difficulty in getting this information, and Musila probably would not have given it, but the old man finally did. He agreed that this was the case probably because the local nitu are local spirits and the tuan tanah is an expert in all such matters. The tuan tanah is also an adat expert and is consulted in cases concerned with adat. The pusaka property,
[778] mainly old war paraphernalia, such as shields (salawaku) and spears, are kept in his house. These were used in the tjakalele before. Among these pusaka are also the conch shells.

624 The kapitan, a member of the saniri, has no special functions now. The present one is from Soplani.

The hereditary post of malessi, now functionless, is held by Mainaki.

There used to be two mauwen, one from Siloë and one from Mainaki.

623 The present saniri has nine members: the Radja, tuan tanah, kapitan, three kepala soa, and three elected members. At present two are kepala dati, although this needn't be so.

182 This strikes me as being a kind of lame negri. Maybe this is because the Radja is not so strong,

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182 or perhaps this is for other reasons. Their adat is certainly shot anyway.

754 759 789 I asked them if they had a dukun and they almost perished trying to impress on me that they had no witch doctors. In fact, it is almost impossible to get them to say that there were persons in the negri who knew native medicines, until I assured them that I knew they did no spells. Finally they said, "No, we have no full time dukun, but we do have people here who are clever with medicines. They know about one or two kinds of illnesses, for example dysentery, and if one comes down with such an ailment we go to the person known to be familiar with dysentery medicine." However, they kept on repeating that there is no magic.

789 I got nowhere asking about love magic (doti-doti) and magic in general. I said casually that there had been plenty of people who worked guna-guna in Ambon, and Musila quickly said that this was true, but Ambon has a mixture of all kinds of people.

844 759 There are three midwives (biang) here. They also prescribe medicines for children.

212 871 They say that in the years 1910 to 1940 students had to learn the Arabic script for Malay in grades four to six in the lower schools as it was then used more widely in other parts of Indonesia. Thus Musila can read and write in the Arabic script and so can many others here. But they forget this fast as they do not use it today. It is no longer taught in school.

563 191 212 The Butonese are the only aliens in the village. They all speak Malay. There is a favorable attitude toward reading and writing and perhaps a new desire to learn English.

207 546 There is no radio and no cinema in Amahusu, although many people from here attend the movies

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565 elected but are named by the radja. Thus the radja
622 really rules the negri.

178 In the past ten years there has been a radical
666 and profound change from the old to the young
888 leaders. Formerly there was little confidence in
555 young leaders, but now even elders prefer younger leaders. This seems to be linked with education, as they now see that education is needed, and the most educated individuals are young. Almost all electors are young. This is a tremendous change.

665 Twenty per cent of the population claims no
182 party affiliation, sixty per cent are PIM, twenty per cent are PTB. The member of the "Dewan Maluku Selatan" from a Christian negri reported to be nearly one hundred per cent PTB, is PIM! The people there, as might be expected, do not like him. He is like Roosevelt in Hyde Park. All Mohammedan negri are PIM. More of the Christian negri are PTB, but a majority of them too are PIM. The Mohammedan enthusiasm for PIM is partly linked with a Mohammedan feeling for Java, etc., and partly because they never did have much feeling for the Dutch.

623 The saniri includes the radja, tuan tanah, four kepala soa, imeum, hatib, four modin, and five orang biasa named by the radja (at present including two kepala dati, but this need not be so). The named members are the tua-tua negri, or kaisisi.

641 Women may vote, but only about sixty per cent
562 do (this seems high to me). No women enter politics actively. Women do not talk politics. He says they are ashamed to talk up with the men. I pointed out the difference noted when talking to Christian women here. Until recently the women took absolutely no part in politics.

621 Each negri is absolutely independent in a
622 political way. Tulehu, the largest negri, has
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665 Pupella, and these young lads obviously are very proud of him.

665 They say that every Mohammedan kampong has an
• 182 organization of PIM members and nearly all Moham-
798 medans are members. Although seventy-five per cent of all Christians are PIM sympathizers and vote PIM, they have no negri organization and no leaders, nor are they registered as members. This is why, I think, PTB is always surprised
[729] that PIM wins. The membership list is small, as the Christians fear friction with pensioned soldiers of their negris if they actually join, but nevertheless they vote PIM. The PTB enthusiasts are loud and open. It appears then, that there are no local leaders in Christian kampongs. However, the central leaders are well known. This is especially true of Pupella, who is both a Dewan and Senate member. These men probably have a future in Indonesia. There is another reason, I think, for the "split personality" of the Christians here. If Indonesia is a single unit with a strong central government, there is an overwhelming Mohammedan majority, and the Christians are sunk as a minority. Only in Ambon and Minahasa are the Christians a majority. Likewise, the Mohammedans here are in the minority and have been kicked around by the Christians for centuries. Now, if PIM succeeds, they will be in the majority religious group of all Indonesia and can get back at Christianity. Thus I see the light. I did say that it seemed to me that the Mohammedans were ahead of the Christians in one way, and that is that they are now building a political organization in the negri. But the Christian negri have no organization and are building none. Thus they will have no organization even to withstand a Mohammedan majority.

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582 The people here now follow Mohammedan incest
429 rules and the old taboos are largely out. For example, I note many fam endogamous marriages which never occur in Amahusu. I asked about cousin marriage, and at first thought I had something, as he pointed out a case of a man married to his mother's brother's daughter (anthropologists jump at the term). He said that this is allowed, but then went on to say that the father's sister's daughter is also allowed. And also the father's brother's daughter and the mother's sister's daughter! In fact, all cousins are allowed! In fact, he said they like close marriages, [422] because the harta and pusaka are kept in the family. Especially liked are marriages between a man and his father's brother's daughter, as then the property is kept close, and he also said something about wali. This means guardian, and it was either that they like it because her husband could also be her wali, or because he could not be her wali. I must ask about this, but my memory was that they like it because he could be her wali. Not only this, but half siblings may marry if they have the same mother but different fathers. This is taboo if they have the same father but different mothers. Here again he said it was because either the husband could or could not be her wali. With the rule of exogamy gone, the only taboo marriages are: siblings, niece, nephew, grandchildren, half siblings with the same father (this may well be merely because of the emphasis on male descent), and, amazing in this loose system, milk siblings. This last is really remote, but they are taboo.

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186 Amahusu: In the last fifty years there has
829 been much change in the realm of political think-
668 ing. Formerly there was practically nothing
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178 taught in regard to politics, but now the people
186 even think in terms of Indonesia, though largely
829 Ambon-centered. They are not yet internationally
668 minded. The idea of independent units of negri
● 182 is well rooted here. There is no thought yet of uniting them into larger units. And they are all equal, large or small. They know very well
[798] that as Christians they are going to be swamped in Indonesia, and they think Mohammedans, after years of being kicked around by the Christian majority here, are looking forward to the day when they will be of a majority in a united
[665] Indonesia. So far, however, there has been no attempt to form a Christian or a Mohammedan party.

648 The people here knew little about the details
829 of colonial government before. Even now they do
177 not talk about the abuses of the old colonial government, as do, for example, the Javans.

The feeling in prewar days was that Holland was the motherland, even though they knew it was small and poor (they noticed how Holland milked Indonesia). The Queen was felt to be their Queen. Religion held in common with Holland was a terrific bond, especially as the rest of Indonesia was mainly Mohammedan. I get the idea, however, that Ambon never thought much of the rest of Indonesia. The people here say, "We must never forget that the Dutch educated us." It is almost pathetic how often they repeat this. Perhaps here is a lesson for the Dutch on the value of education in keeping a colony. Also, the people here really like the Dutch. They see them as a bit snooty, but they like them. How different from Tulehu!

186 The Amahusu folk know very little about other
829 countries. They are too much concerned about local affairs to bother about such things. The

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186 829 whole world could blow up and they would argue about PTB.

798 668 182 779 Although the church never mixes in politics, it forms a tremendous bond between the Dutch and the Christian Ambonese.

The conservative religion makes for conservatism in politics automatically, and the terrific fact is that most of a free Indonesia would be Mohammedan and this makes for fear on the part of the Ambonese (as among the Christians in India today). This is especially true in Ambon, where the Christians rode high over the Mohammedans. Thus the very fact of their being Christian in a Mohammedan country makes for clinging to the Christian motherland, which always favored them against the Mohammedans.

665 729 578 No one speaks openly about politics. I think that most if not all of the young folk are PIM, but they are afraid to say so to the elders who are in large part pensioners. Therefore, the latter may think that everyone here is PTB. The young hide their thoughts to save the feelings of the elders, but there are two other reasons. One is that about eighty of the approximately one hundred-forty houses here are supported wholly or partly by military funds, either pension funds or salaries of soldiers. If the young people went against this, it would be biting the hand that feeds them. Another reason is grimmer. The young people know that the old soldiers are savage, and really fear bloodshed if they press too far. Thus it is somewhat like Napoleon's Old Guard, but there are shades of Kakean here, in which traitors had to be beheaded often by their own relatives. Perhaps I [702] exaggerate. And note: Amahusu is one of the most soldier-giving negri in all Ambon.

665 Although there is no local political leader-

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565 the community are too close relatives. This is
582 why all the women in the radja's family leave home when they marry. Also, the radja himself nearly always marries a noble. And this is why nearly all of the radjas are married to outside women. There are no noble women in the kampong who are distant enough relatives to be suitable marriage partners. Thus the present radja's wife is the daughter of the Asilulu radja.

The different radja families are very much intermarried.

789 There seems to be no idea at all about magic
177 power vested in the radja. Perhaps this indeed
565 is Hindu derived. Here there seems to be little if any Hindu influence. Still, I think of Polynesian mana.

771 Mohammedanism has not changed much in the
178 last fifty years, but the old religion and
769 feasts have declined fast. There was a Lating
●182 feast in 1948 to make a new house for the sacred
527 graves of the Lating radjas. I saw this place later and it turned out to be a house with slat sides halfway down. In it were three graves like those of the Goa radjas, only plainer. In one there were two marker pairs, as it was the grave of the radja and his wife. If one could date these, it would be known when the Wakang took over. Here we see the ancestor cult in good form. And note that here we also see the link between the ancestor cult and the kramat of the great hadjis of Batavia. The Lebaran development is very clear here and the steps are: Lating clan graves--Radja Goa graves--Hatja Batavia graves. (Clan ancestors to kingdom ancestors to religious ancestors.)

[755] Here at the Lating grave, Gani says, if there is illness or trouble in the Lating group the people come and read the Koran on Thursday night

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771 night. (This is the strangest mixture yet.
769 Beautiful.) This great Lating feast is held
182 when a new grave house is made. It is the one
527 when the radja acts like a servant of Lating
178 and carries a woman of Lating dressed like a
radja. A big tjakalele is danced too. And note,
[624] the tuan tanah calls the Lating ancestors, even
though he is an Umarella, because this is in
part a negri feast as Lating used to be a group
of radjas. The line of the radja is now lost
and the woman who plays the part of the radja
is merely selected from the negri. The last
real, all-negri feast was held in 1920, when a
new mosque was celebrated. The ancestors were
called by the tuan tanah with the conch shells.

764 There are seven soa or rumah tau which still
178 have their old graves with houses erected over
614 them. The other soa have forgotten their old
graves. The dead are now buried in the negri
cemetery in Kampong Baroe.

Note how all over Ambon there are stone or cement boxed-in earth rectangular mounds over the grave. Rough graves have stone heaps placed in this fashion. Better graves have cement. Christians have headstones with a cement border, with the name, etc. Mohammedan graves have a small head and foot stone inside.

The soa used to have separate cemeteries. Those still keeping their separate cemeteries are: Lating (Lestaluhu), Ei (Nahu-maruri), Aser (Umarella), Lain (Tuasalamoni), Loü Laut (Unusalela), Wakang (Ohorella), Teri (Tehupelussori).
[527] Each of these has a big soa feast when a new
[769] house is needed for the graves. At this time the
ancestors are called by the kepala dati (not the
[624] tuan tanah) with a conch shell. Lain had one in 1945; Lating, the big one, in 1948. (There was an apprehensive cat sleeping on one of the Lating graves.)

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000 ing graves.)

764 We saw another grave house out near the hospital (which was built by the Japanese). We asked the women on the way back to what soa it belonged. They were uncertain and finally said Lating. This seems wrong, because they have one in the kampong. Gani says maybe they were keeping it a secret and would not give me the real name! He will check on this.

764 This grave business is the real fam feast I
171 have been seeking. The grave houses are like
769 the ancestor houses, for example, on Flores.
614 The aroha feasts used to be held annually
178 by each soa, and the kepala dati used the conch
[624] shells to call the ancestors. Only three soa still do this: Aser, Ei, and Ohorella. The soa not having grave huts any more have forgotten where their old ancestors were buried (or are they newcomers?). They are: Moni, Lou, Wani, Tuni, and Pari.

771 There are only four Christians here. The
797 people never discuss religion with Christians anywhere. There is no concern with nor interest in Christian religion. There are no missionaries, no cults, and no converts to Christianity. Nearly everyone is Mohammedan. The four Christians are three women and one man who is Chinese. All are married to Mohammedans.

769 There are no more pagans, although there are
771 plenty of survivals in the culture. The Moham-
793 medan priests make no fuss about the continued
182 interest in ancestors, spirits, etc. Indeed, they participate in the ancestor rites. Thus the imeum, a Lating, goes to the Lating feast.

There are no Mohammedan purists here, and no reformers. Mohammedanism is evidently more hospitable than Christianity to such survivals.

There seem to be no Hindu or Buddhistic elements.

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000 ments.

346 There is a mosque in the kampong as well as
769 three prayer houses (langgar), but no surau
778 (Koran schools). There are seven ancestor grave places, the batu pemali of Eruwakang which was moved into the kampong (the batu pemali of Amantawari is still in the negri lama), and until recently there was a baileo.

614 Every soa has certain pusaka (dishes, wood
422 trays, etc.) located in one of the houses,
527 usually the kepala dati's. It seems that he is
778 the kepala fam, as it were. It happens that the pusaka of Moni are in Gani's house, as his grandfather was the kepala dati. The aroha feast is held in the house where the pusaka are kept.

535 The tjakalele costumes including the weapons
624 are kept in the house of the kepala soa Tuasala-
527 moni. (I think this must have been the kapitan fam before, because the kapitan is usually the tjakalele leader since he was a war leader and the tjakalele is a war dance.) Many men can dance the tjakalele (Gani can't), and the boys still learn it. If anyone wishes, the kepala soa Tuasalamoni gives lessons. (He is an oldish man, but must keep up on the old knowledge.) I see now also why the tuan tanah must be retained. The negri feasts are held so seldom that they would forget how to do them right unless they had a man charged with remembering details. The aroha feasts still hang on a bit.

778 People go to the negri lama only individually.
769 They do it before they go to Mecca. They pray
782 there and talk with the ancestors!

● 182 Also, if they are joining the army, men go to the negri lama and tell the ancestors about what they are going to do and ask for invulnerability.

751 They also have amulets which are wrapped-up
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769 The ancestor cult survives and it is believed
775 that the ancestral spirits are really around in
778 the area and can be called upon when needed.
182 I asked if they knew what happened to the souls after death and he said he really did not know. As usual, except for the pagans, the people do not know very much about the after-life. Then there is the negri lama and the ancestors of the negri who can be called upon there. There must have been a great ancestor cult center here in former times, and the cult keeps on fairly well although it is under the guise of Mohammedanism. Note also the seven holy grave places
769 778 of the fam with the graves of the old ancestors.
614 There are the ancestors of the negri, but they are really ancestors of the fam. Seven of the twelve fam have the holy ancestral graves, and there, as above, rituals are celebrated. Those fam which do not have kramat are mostly from the outside, although long ago. Maybe they do have kramat for their ancestors located somewhere else. This is indeed true of Moni (Kottahatuhaha), which has a grave house over the ancestral graves in Haruku at the negri of Ruhumoni. The seven fam which have kramat are the old ones from Amantawari and Eruwakang. The other five are as follows: Moni from Haruku; Loi from Amantawari, although they have forgotten where the kramat is; and Wani, Tuni, and Pari, all of these from somewhere else.

115 Note: Gani's full name is Abdul Gani Kottahatuhaha.

192 Note: Everywhere here in Indonesia I hear the word modern (with the Dutch pronunciation). It has become a very popular Malay word. These are "modern" times. The "modern" girls do so and so, etc.

178 54 There is little specialized entertainment in

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771 The only Mohammedans are the Butonese. The
797 Christians often know something about Mohamme-
563 danism (this is unlike the Mohammedans who know very little about Christianity). Relations with the Mohammedans are friendly but distant. There are no converts to Mohammedanism or to Christianity. And there are no pagans.

178 There are actually plenty of survivals, but
771 they are dying out. There are still beliefs
182 in ancestors' spirits, guna-guna, soul catching,
797 soothsaying, doti-doti, etc. And there is a
578 lot of trouble with zealous young church gurus
769 who insist that all traces of the old adat and agama must be rooted out. The Radja, who wants to keep as much of the old as is "good" has strained relations with the church. The majority of the people here don't like the young zealots either. They have had to fire two or three recently as they insisted on running down the old things. The older gurus who have been here a long time do not talk that way; instead, they avoid the subject. They are all right. The young ones don't drag it up every day, but hammer on the subject from time to time. He says that the worst zealots come from Saparua, and especially from Paperu.

[526] Many people say the reason that Amahusu began to lose the orembaai races after the war having won them all the time before (they involved about fifteen negri, on August 31, from Hative to Ambon), is because they have lost their old rites. They used to get the ancestors to help and use guna-guna, etc. Amahusu has lost the help of the ancestors and this is because they have lost the old cult. Thus there is a kind of rebound from extreme Christianity, although the latter has gone too far now and is irresistible.
181 Maybe the reason I get the impression that this

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266 some occasion. It was relatively unimportant,
173 at least in terms of what the people remember
681 here. There is no memory of human sacrifice and none of torture. In law or adat they never had the death punishment here.

538 Legends and folklore are frequently discussed
521 although this is a subject which is declining,
178 even with the old folk. I see this when I talk with the old people. They know a lot that the young people do not.

178 That many of the old traits are disappearing
771 does not concern the young. The old like to re-
182 call the past but evidently they are not making much of an effort to keep the young in the same groove. My guess is that Mohammedanism stands against them. Mohammedanism may not be absolutely against old things such as the Christian preachers are, but it makes the old folks lose their spirit in trying to have the young people hold on. They have no "charter" for the old any more, as Mohammedanism is the only religion. They could not justify easily any effort in this direction.

197 I am sure that the old language of tradition
178 helps to keep the memory of the past alive. The old man from Waai said that when the bahasa tanah goes that is the beginning of the end of the old ways. Tulehu and other Mohammedan negri still have the bahasa tanah.

Note: The old man from Waai said that they no longer use the bahasa tanah in Waai. He is pretty sure that Tial Serani does not use it, and he doubts that Tial Slam still does either. I take his word for Waai, but I must ask about Tial.

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764 Amahusu: Few burial customs survive. Perhaps
178 one example is the three-night death gathering of

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538 They do not tell stories very much, even to the children.

527 Except for special occasions, the holidays are August 17 and 31, Lebaran, and Christmas.

829 186 369 546 481 There is some desire on the part of the young folk to see other lands, but they are really satisfied with the negri. There is not much criticism as in Tulehu. Maybe this is because they are so near the big town of Ambon. They can walk in to Ambon all the time. They go to the movies there and walk around. They like Malay movies especially. They also like cowboy movies. (A Javan boy in a beer place told me he was going to the movies. I asked him what movie he was going to, and he said cowboy.) Every evening one can see the people of Amahusu walking to Ambon. They may get home at 2 A.M. The bus fare is fl. 0.50.

721 266 681 There are still stories about head-hunting but nothing about cannibalism. Also, there is nothing about sacrifice or torture. There was no death punishment in law or adat.

283 335 Everyone can and does make rope from gemuti fiber. They use it in place of nails in house building because nails are hard to get.

412 I saw a man using a hatchet to shape a curved timber (it looked like a boat strut) with great skill.

178 771 182 The young people do not care much about the loss of old traits. There are a few who do, but they are very few. Here again it is the alien religion that removes the charter from the old, and though the old ones would like to have the young preserve the old things, they have no justification, because Christianity, the religion, leaves no place for the ancestral spirits, etc.

535 178 887 182 The old people are troubled by the lack of interest in the old things on the part of the

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585 young. They talk and grumble but it does no good.
887 The young will have little of it. Nevertheless I
182 see that they like the old songs, and they dance and join in the old things quite a bit. Several children learn the tjakalele. I noted at the wedding that they dance the quadrille and waltz more enthusiastically, however, than they do the older dances. In fact, the people who danced the menari were almost all old men and women. The young looked on with a kind of amusement.

178 I think I have the answer. The old have no
182 charter justification to use in persuading the
793 young that it is good to hold onto the old. There is only Christianity. The ancestors have no place therein. This is a complicated business, however, and the church takes the place of the old baileo in a way and supports the feeling of negri separateness and unity. The worst influences are the preachers and the religious gurus. Musila says the turn came about 1930. Before that the old religion was in pretty good shape. After that there was a swift decline. I must ask more about this and why such a turn took place at that time. In Amahusu, Musila remembers an especially vicious attacker of the old things, a guru from Paperu, Saparua. He stormed on against the adat, and the old agama, and the young people followed him. The Radja hated him, and finally got rid of him, but he had already done the harm. And now too the gurus carry on the attack all the time. The Radja does not like it. I wonder if the women are more or less attached to the old things than are the men. I have not had time to go into this.

[538] There is not much telling of old stories. In
178 a little while the roots of the past may disappear altogether. But what will the Ambonese be then? It may be that all Indonesia will lose its

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178 grip on the past, and Ambon may merely be ahead
[182] of the trend. However, the color is going out
of the life here. The folk culture is being lost
and they are in a state of great transition.
Notably enough, however, they are not suffering.
Like the young everywhere, they seem to need no
roots in the past.

000 East Indonesia: A letter from Levij says that
a Dutchman was killed near Palopo. The Radja of
Tulehu says that this happened a month ago. The
Dutchman was in the tobacco business and was
killed by a band of Buginese. The leaders are
now in jail.

I I saw a cartoon in the Elseviers Weekblad of
648 July showing the UNCI telling the Netherlands
208 that here is a fine Republic. The latter is
shown as a puppet wajang being operated by terror-
ists, communists, etc. The UNCI figure wears a
loud coat, horned glasses and has a camera. Thus
he is a stereotype for an American. In fact, it
looks like Cochran [American ambassador to Indo-
nesia].

I I talked at Tulehu with a member of the East
635 Indonesian Parlemen. He is Latukonsina, from
Saparua. He says that the East Indonesian Senaat
has thirteen members, chosen by the thirteen
daerah. Ten are from the former self-governing
areas, and they are radjas chosen by the dewan
radja-radja of their daerah. The other three are
from the direct control areas, and they are chosen
by their dewan rakyat. These three are from
Lombok, Minahasa, and Ambon. The Parlemen is
elected, and now has (I think) seventy-three mem-
bers, of whom sixty-three are elected and ten are
named by the Government of East Indonesia. He
calls these the "corrective factor". There used
to be eighty members. He is glad that I am
writing up an impartial account.

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624 like a kepala soa. He is under the radja.
175 Neither of these men knows about the separate
425 Ambon kampongs, but they do know of one in
726 Saparua which is indeed separate in a way although it is under the radja of a negri. It was settled by people of various negri who got the land from the Dutch as a reward for betraying a negri on a hilltop which would not submit. The Dutch could not get up as the folk there kept throwing spears and stuff down on them. The betrayers led them up secret paths. The remnants fled to Ceram, and their land was given to the traitors.

583 The Mohammedans can marry, unless it is a
851 case of tulung dati, only if the bride price is paid.

The Saparua man says that it is quite common for Christians to marry before the price is paid. If the price is never paid, one child must be given to the woman's family. This is known as anak harta. If the price is paid later on, all the children are considered as the father's, even ones born before the price was paid. With tulung dati the bride price is not paid by the Christians either, and the children are the mother's.

771 The Saparua man says that Mohammedanism works
● 182 with adat, and this is why adat is kept better
578 in Mohammedan negri. Christianity runs against adat and thus these negri lose out in terms of the old customs. He thinks, and I hear this so much, that the Christian church should work with adat too. It should keep the good things of the past. He says there is much friction with the zealots of the church. If I had the time I would like to get cases of this. I have one from Ambon, above.

15 N
142 Naku: I left Ambon on Monday, November 28,
501 [illegible, wijkmeester & radja of a negri in Saparua--Analyst]

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582 In these twelve big fam, marriages with other
614 Indonesians (mainly with other Ambonese fam) total 98; marriages with Butonese total 6. The other Indonesian marriages include marriages include marriages to Arabs.

There are these cases of slave marriages:

Wakang--Kotta	Wakang--Wakang
Kotta--Wakang	Ceram Slave--Laha
Ceram Slave--Ohorella	Ceram Slave--Haruku

Marriages between both outsiders total 51.
Marriages between both Butonese total 109.

614 Of the twelve big fam plus the Wakang, en-
582 dogamous marriages are as follows:
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●182

	Total Number of Marriages in Which Involved	Endogamous
Ohorella	111	9
Lestaluhu	240	59
Tuasalamoni	37	3
Kottahatuhaha	52	6
Nahumaruri	106	10
Tehupelussori	36	2
Umarella	48	5
Tawainella	44	3
Hunusalela	12	0
Sarlata	5	0
Tuasamu	20	2
Pari	11	1
Wakang	3	1

Thus, of the marriages, totaling 725 in which the twelve main fam plus Wakang are involved, 101 or 14 per cent are endogamous. Especially endogamous are the Lestaluhu, who comprise the largest fam. They have about 25 per cent of the endogamous marriages. Thus the old endogamous taboo has

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582 declined to practically nothing. This is one
178 hundred per cent different from the Christian
● 182 negri, where the endogamous taboo still holds.
614 In this respect, at least, the Christians are more conservative. Gani says this is because they are following Mohammedan marriage rules more and more, and fam endogamy is not taboo in Mohammedanism. Thus we can see that in marriages Mohammedanism has much to say, whereas Christianity says little, except about incest.

[162]

Fam

Lestaluhu (Lating)	600
Ohorella (Wakang)	305
Nahumaruri (Ei)	241
Umarella (Aser)	133
Tawainella (Lou)	118
Kottahatuhaha (Moni)	110
Tehupelussori (Teri)	87
Tuasalamoni (Lain)	81
Tuasamu (Tuni)	52
Hunusalela (Lou Laut)	24
Pari (Pari)	21
Sarlatta (Wani)	14
Wakang (Wakang)	10
Total	1796

[563]

Butonese	632
Ceram	65
Chinese	34
Javan	18
Indian	6
Other Indonesians	41
Elsewhere in Ambon Islands	323
Total	2915